1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

Tofilau 3 bore name of Joel, father of informant (6).

Tofilau 4 bore name of Ifekeheka } Their father was brother of 3.
Tofilau 5 bore name of Atelu }

Tofilau 6 bears name of Nepote; son of 3.

Tui Tupou, a matapule attached to Tui Tonga Laufilitonga. Now serving the Tui Kanokupolu, by whom he is appointed. Resides in Koulo, Lifuka Island. Belongs to Fale Fisi. It is said that the first Tui Tupou came to Tonga with a Tui Tonga who had been to Fiji on a visit. Possibly Tapuosi the Tui Lakepa is referred to rather than a Tui Tonga. The Tupou referred to in the title is said to be a village on Lakemba Island, Fiji.

Tukuafu, a matapule at Felemea, Uiha Island.

Uhatafe, a matapule and carpenter to the Tui Tonga. Of Samoan origin according to John Havea, of Rotuman origin according to Tapueluelu. According to a third informant the first Uhatafe came from Rotuma in the reign of the twenty-sixth Tui Tonga (Puipuifatu).

Uhi, a matapule to Ata. For origin of title see Vaeno.

Ula, a navigator title. The origin of Ula is Samoan. (See p. 143.) His seat is at Neiafu in the Hihifo district, Tongatabu. The Tamaha's genealogies show a succession as follows: Ula, to his son's son Likuohihifo, to his son Amini. The late Queen Takipo, wife of King George II, was the daughter of an Ula.

Vaeno, a matapule to Tungi. Of Samoan origin. A Samoan woman in the train of Tohuia (mother of the first Tui Kanokupolu) gave birth to twins who became the matapule Uhi and Vaeno. Their names became titles for two lines of matapule. Uhi is matapule to Ata.

Vaipuna, a matapule of Uiha, Uiha Island; not matapule to the chief Malupo, to whom he stood in relation of "brother."

Vao, a matapule of the chief Malupo of Uiha village, Uiha Island.

Vatuvei, a matapule for the Tui Lakepa, by whom he is appointed. Resides on Okoa Island, Vavau group. Belongs to Fale Fisi.

Veahaki, a matapule title at Koulo, Lifuka. The graveyard of Veahaki's family is called Hangaitokolau.

Veamatahau, title of a matapule of the Falefa of the Tui Tonga.

Vehikite, a *toutai* title, at present held by a man of Otea, Kapa Island, Vavau. Formerly appointed by the Tui Haa Takalaua, now appointed by the Tui Kanokupolu. The personal names of the men whom the informant remembered as holding the title were, in order: Kitekeiaho; Halafauimoana; Ulilalelei; Tohoilangolelei; Fakafuli; John Tuita, the incumbent, his mother was the daughter of the noble Tuita.

TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

Table 9 summarizes the 203 title transmissions recorded in this paper. It shows that transmission is definitely patrilineal, there being but 7 through females: 5 to the daughter's son, 1 to the sister's son, and 1 to the son's daughter's son. The 26 records of transmission to brothers may embody preferences of a brother over a son, but it seems more likely that most fraternal successions were due to the lack of a son who possessed the needed qualifications.

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

TABLE 9. TRANSMISSION OF TITLES

TRANSMISSION	TOTALS	TONGA TUI HAA	MALE TUI TAKALAUA	TUI KANOKUPOLU	CHIEFS	MATAPULES, NAV'GTRS, PRIESTS, ARTISANS
To son	142	32	11	7	71	21
To brother	26	3		3	11	9
To brother's son	9			3	3	3
To father's brother's son	5				3	2
To daughter's son	5				3	2
To son's son	5				3	2
To father's brother	3			2	1	
To brother's son's son	2			1	1	
To father's father's brother's son	1			1		
To father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To father's father's brother's son's son	1				1	
To sister's son	1					1
To son's daughter's son	1			1		
To daughter	1			1		

BARDS

Bards, ordinarily ranking about on a level with matapules, have always occupied an honorable position in Tongan society, being regarded as the intellectual equals of the most brilliant minds. The poet Tuakilaumea was the son of matapule Motuapuaka. The poets Ulamoleka and Teukava were chiefs. In 1921 the chief Vaea was writing poetry.

The poems themselves reflect the social position and cleverness of their authors. The introduction (p. 88) to the "Poem of Mumui" (16, p. 98) indicates that the poet was liable to punishment for relatively small offenses. Because Tuakilaumea had appropriated a gift of kava intended for Mumui, the Tui Kanokupolu, the poet's house was destroyed. Tuakilaumea, taking refuge in a sanctuary (Faletapu), composed a lay about Mumui. He then attached himself to the Tui Haa Takalaua Mulikihaamea at Mua, where with a company of chanters he presented the lay. Mumui, learning of the clever poem, invited Tuakilaumea to Nukualofa to present it before him, thus evidencing his forgiveness of the kava appropriation.

Another poem (16, p. 71) indicates that for some small offense Ulukalala proceeded to set Mamaeaepoto on shore, much to the poet's chagrin. It is also recorded that the chief Ulamoleka ordered a poet to accompany him from Tongatabu to Eua, even though the poet's father was on his death bed.

Though the profession of bard seems to have been an honored one, the poets were very definitely dependent upon the patronage of the great chiefs. Here and there in the poems this protection is mentioned, usually metaphorically, by saying the poet is aboard a great vessel.

613 of Fohe, the noble of Puke, claimed to be 'eiki 'chiefly' by virtue of
565 their relationship to Fohe. I was not able to establish exactly how distant a kinsman of the noble could call himself 'eiki but a classificatory grandson did not make the claim. The people claiming to be 'eiki by virtue of their relationship to Fohe were said to belong to Ha'a Fohe.

613 My data would seem to indicate that commoners are commoners because
565 they are not members of ha'a. Gifford claimed that commoners were com-
114 moners because they were low-ranking members of ha'a. Concerning the membership of ha'a Gifford states, "Each consists of a nucleus of related chiefs about whom are grouped inferior relatives, the lowest and most remote of whom are commoners" (1929: 30).

Adrienne Kaeppler apparently found a situation similar to the one I described for Puke as she says, "A chief's 'people' need not be related to him by blood, but rather are associated with him by virtue of living on the land (tofi'a) which goes with his title" (1971: 188).

613 The present day position of most commoners in regard to ha'a can
565 be summarized as affiliation with, but not membership in, the ha'a of the noble on whose estate they reside. This, of course, does not preclude a commoner claiming ties with a ha'a through consanguineal links.

Inheritance

428 Land and titles are the two most important properties transferred
424 through inheritance. Titles that are associated with estates are only
[656] awarded at the discretion of the government. Ideally, titles are inherited by the rule of primogeniture; the male claimant with the closest

428 agnatic ties to the most recent titleholder should succeed to the title.
424 A female may be invested with the rights of a title through inheritance
[562] if there are no male heirs, but she cannot exercise those rights. She can, however, pass the title on to her male descendant.

428 The inheritance of land is codified in law and land cannot be
423 willed; rather, the heir is determined by law (Maude 1971: 112). However, exceptions to these laws are common as land is often inherited in a manner that is jurally, but not legally, binding. This is possible because a great many allotments are not registered, but held by indi-
[597] viduals at the discretion of nobles. Under these circumstances even children of an adoptive status, not recognized by law, can and do inherit land. Alaric Maude (1971: 112-113) discribes the legal aspects of land inheritance. Here I would like to present the following as an ideal case of property inheritance from an untitled deceased.

After the death of a married man with children of both sexes 'all property above the ground' koloa 'ihe funga kelikeli passes into the control of his wife. She may dispose of this property as she wishes. She also inherits the rights to use the land as long as she wishes or until her death. After the death of the deceased's wife, his eldest son will usually inherit the rights of usufruct to his father's land; this is in accord with the law. Although the law does not recognize wills for land inheritance, dying men may name who they want to inherit their land. Even though such a practice is not in accord with written law, it is usually recognized and respected within the community for
428 land that is not registered. Also unrecognized by law is the custom of
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